1: Parsons E-5 (1923-1927) 1929
NT18 Tewa NT18

sions I could compare with the life in other pueblos in which I had lived. Of all the towns Tesuque has the look of being most self-contained, and such is its reputation among other townspeople. "Tesuque keeps all its old ways." It has the reserve of a western pueblo or of one of the less Americanized Keresan pueblos, say San Felipe. With Laguna, the most Americanized of the Keresan towns, one might compare Santa Clara. Like Laguna, Santa Clara has experienced a long standing feud[3] between progressive pro-Americans and conservative anti-Americans, in alignment being true to the outstanding pattern of Tewa social classification, the moiety pattern, Summer people against Winter people. Recently the Winter people have been electing their own governor; some time they may form one more Pueblo group to found a new town because of religious incompatibilities. Meanwhile, they are not washing their dirty linen in public,[3a] a decency I exceedingly regret, since it leaves the history of the quarrel unrecorded. The short-haired, English-speaking young man I counted on as historian was one of the most tongue-tied Pueblos it has been my misfortune to meet. There had been recent deaths in his family, I learned later, which were attributed to having told some white person something.

The 1926 estimate[3] of the Tewa population by the district superintendent totals 1189, distributed as follows:

San Juan[4]	497
Santa Clara	354
San Ildefonso	102

[3] In 1883 the Indian agent reports that Santa Clara is very poor, "fighting always among itself." In 1890 another agent reports that the town is divided against itself, the cacique leading one faction, the governor, the other. "Some years ago the governor chastised the cacique, who, it is claimed, is a false cacique, and not appointed by legitimate methods." (Census, 83, 104).

[3a] However literally they may so do. See pl. 8.

[3] The estimate in 1895 was 1110 (Hodge, 346).

[4] In 1890, 275 (Census, 102).

1: Parsons E-5 (1923-1927) 1929
NT18 Tewa NT18

COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

105 As already stated in several connections, the most prominent Tewa social classification is the moiety and for social organization the most significant habit of mind, the tendency [177] to dichotomize. Borrowed features are fitted into the dual pattern and we may even surmise that features in neighboring cultures that are not readily adjusted to the pattern are not readily or whole-heartedly borrowed—clanship for example. 171 Clanship is an inert form in Tewa life. There is nothing vital 614 in it, it has no functions nor does it in any way vitalize other social expressions. Nor have we found any survivals to indicate that the principle of clanship had a sometime more vigorous life. As the clan does not occur at Taos and Picuris, occurs but is lifeless also at Jemez, occurs only in a pseudo-form at Isleta, is more vigorous among the Western Keres than among the Eastern, and is in full vigor and blossom at Zuñi and among the Hopi,—in view of this distribution must we not infer that Tewa clanship is not a decadent, but a marginal or undeveloped trait? 171 Western clanship is closely associated with house ownership by 592 women and with the descent of ceremonial property and posi- 614 tion in the maternal family. House ownership in the northern 562 pueblos tends to be male. Between the Hopi house ownership system and that of Taos there is a great contrast in practice and theory, with the territorial gap between filled in by the practice and theory of the other pueblos in house ownership in a way curiously corresponding to their distribution of clanship practice and theory. Among the Tewa about two-thirds of the houses—perhaps more—are owned by men and what theory there is on the subject favors male proprietorship. In the West, 171 422 ceremonial property is associated with the house as well as with 778 the clan or its subdivision, the maternal family. Care of the 592 fetiches in the house is incumbent upon the senior woman of 562

8:Aberle D-5 (1930)1931 NT18 Tewa NT18

In many ways the people live as they did when the Spaniards ruled the southwest. Each family occupies one or two rooms in a low adobe building. The women build the houses and keep them in repair, while the men farm. Some families still use the open fireplace in one corner of the room for preparing all the meals of the family, but the majority have iron stoves. The people are not much concerned about matters regarding sanitation.

TABLE 1

Economic status of the Indians in 1928

	San Juan	Santa Clara
Population,	500	361
Cultivated acres,	850	330
Value of yield from acres cultivated,	$18,000	$12,000
Value of livestock,	$ 1,600	$12,000
Annual return from livestock,	....	$ 3,500
Outside-labor income,	$10,500	$ 9,500
Native-industries income,	$ 3,500	$ 6,000
Total income,	$32,000	$31,000
Average income per capita,	$64	$86
Income per family,	$256[1]	$352[2]
Per-capita income for the year as figured by merchant in vicinity,	$200–$300	

[1] San Juan income calculated upon the basis of 125 families, as given in 1927 census, includes annual return from livestock, outside labor, native industries, and agriculture.

[2] Income of Santa Clara calculated upon the basis of eighty-eight families in pueblo, as given in 1930 census, includes annual returns as in San Juan.

Table 1, compiled from the "Report on the Pueblo Indians" by Malcolm McDowell, gives a summary of the economic conditions of the two villages in 1928. The salaried positions about the pueblo of San Juan are few. Men having posts of forty or fifty dollars a month are considered wealthy. Most of the men are forced to leave the pueblo for a month or two to earn money to carry their families through the year. The people at Santa Clara are better off economically; they live near a small town where work is available. The per-capita income and the total money received from outside labor for the two pueblos can be seen in table 1.

8: Aberle D-5 (1930) 1931 NT18 Tewa NT18

105 The women earn some money from their native industries, of which the chief is pottery making. The Santa Clara women earn more than the people at San Juan because they are on the main tourist route and have a good market for their wares. The Indians raise their own corn, wheat, and chili, which form the basis of their diet. In both pueblos the amount of land cultivated is small, not quite 2 acres per capita, and their crops are not adequate to last throughout the year. The average family income is $256 at San Juan and $352 at Santa Clara, calculated from the annual returns from livestock, outside labor, native industries, and agriculture. The income estimated for San Juan by some of the merchants in the vicinity, figured on the yearly purchases of the Indians, was between $200 and $300 a year. It is a very difficult figure to find, since the Indians themselves have no idea of the amount of their own earnings. No Indian was found in the pueblo of San Juan who had a bank account. Although these Indians are a great deal better off than many [511] of the people seen in the free medical dispensaries of large cities, the standard of living is not high. The amount of food [146] they consume would not be considered wholly sufficient according to the present-day conception of an adequate diet.

125 The material for the present study was collected from two 127 sources: first, from records kept by the parish priests in the vicinity of the pueblos, in order to get the names and dates of all the children that were christened; secondly, from house-to-house visitations of the parents, in order to get the pregnancies which did not result in viable young which lived to be christened. All legitimate as well as illegitimate chil- [177 795] dren are christened by the Church and the ceremony usually occurs within five days, rarely over ten days, after birth. [852] In instances where the parents were known, birth records were found without difficulty, indicating that the records had been faithfully kept.

114 Birth records from San Juan were collected for the periods 129 1799 to 1837 and 1892 to 1930. From December 25, 1823, until June 29, 1829, the entries of the christenings did not